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REPORT  
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REPORT  
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LABOR SITUATION  
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## I. HISTORY OF LABOR MOVEMENT TO 1914

The modern socialist-labor movement developed much more slowly in Italy than in other European countries. Its first impulse came through the influence of Bakounine. Socialist and proletarian journals began to spring up, attempts were made to form associations of workmen and in 1869, Bakounine opened the first branch of the "Internationale" at Naples.

The organization was short-lived owing to the opposition of the government and a large section of Italian labor to its anarchistic philosophy. Its failure led, in 1880, to the establishment of the so-called Labor Party which in 1894 declared itself the exponent of Marxian Socialism.

The years following saw a determined effort on the part of the Crispi ministry to suppress socialist development. Common persecution drew Socialists and petty bourgeois together for a time and resulted in a coalition policy, the merits of which agitated inner Socialist councils until its final repudiation in 1912.

With a change in ministry, more liberal forces in the Government came into play. At the same time, in 1902, occurred the merging into one national body of the two great classes of labor organizations which had been slowly evolving in spite of violent Government opposition, namely, the fighting units or trades unions proper, and the local workmen's clubs, modelled on the French Bourses du Travail and known as Camore del Lavoro. Although starting out as revolutionary non-political organizations, these groups had come increasingly under the sway of the Socialist Party until, with their consolidation into one national whole, all difference between them as to policy disappeared. The new labor body organized in 1906 as the General Confederation of Labor, or C.G.L. is now virtually the economic expression of the Socialist Party, identical with it as to leaders, aims and methods. Believers in revolutionary methods, formed in 1906 the Italian Syndicalist Union, a frankly revolutionary organization, free of all affiliation with the Socialist Party and the C.G.L. The strength of this organization lies largely in its Bourses or Camore del Lavoro.

A similar struggle was taking place within the Socialist Party from which these Syndicalists seceded in 1906. Leaning heavily at first to

its original policy of opportunism, events connected with the Tripolita War led to its final capture by the revolutionary left, who at the Congress of 1912 voted approval of the weapon of the general strike, refused all compromise with Government or bourgeoisie, elected as their secretary the radical, Lazzari, and finally expelled the right wing, Bissolati among them, from the Party. This right wing promptly organized into a party of Socialist Reform, carrying with it perhaps one-half of all the Socialist Deputies.

The general elections of 1913 resulted in the return of approximately forty deputies belonging to the official Socialist Party, twenty Reformist and ten Independent Socialists, as contrasted with a total of forty-one from the three parties at the previous election. Thus, in Parliament, in politics, and among labor organizations the radical element was supreme. This tendency was at once reflected in the general strike of 1914, which in turn perceptibly affected Italy's first reaction towards the war.

## II. THE LABOR SITUATION DURING THE WAR

The summer of 1914 found the Italian workers still resentful of the colonial war in Tripoli and restive under the resultant burdensome fiscal legislation of 1912 and 1913. During the spring, there had been an agricultural strike in the province of Parma, agitation in the provinces of Ferrera and Bologna, strikes of metal workers in Milan and Turin and intense anarchistic and syndicalist activity in the province of Ancona.

The Socialist Party, the C.G.L. and other proletarian organizations ordered a general strike in protest against the decree forbidding meetings and the summary suppression of revolts. Two million industrial and agricultural workers were involved, and from June 8th to 10th, Italian industrial life was in turmoil. In July, a railroad strike was threatened and the reservists were called out.

Such was the situation when the war broke. Under these conditions, and particularly as the government inclined towards support of the Central Powers, the Italian worker had no desire to become involved in the European war.

The fall of 1914 saw a bitter struggle in Italy between the desire for peace and a growing sentiment in favor of intervention on the side of the Allies. Suedekum and another German Socialist deputy visited Italy in September to defend the position taken by the German party. Italian Socialists resented their coming inasmuch as they felt German Socialists had forfeited their right to be called Socialists.

War conditions produced an acute economic crisis. Naval opera-

tions on the Adriatic destroyed the fishing industry, the exodus of foreigners from the hotels threw employees out of work, and about 500,000 Italian workers from Germany, Austria and France returned home. Conditions were aggravated by the rise in the cost of food and the tendency of employers to reduce wages and increase the hours of labor. The hope of the workers for industrial and economic reforms had been frustrated by the war.

The Socialist Party in August 1914, was still under the leadership of revolutionaries, including Mussolini and Lazzari. The C.G.L. was in the control of the moderates Rigola, D'Aragona, Argentina Altobelli, Buoizzi and others. The events of June, however, produced practically complete accord between these two groups.

On February 21st, 1915, Socialist and labor mass meetings all over Italy declared their opposition to entering the war. This position was reaffirmed by the Socialist Party and the C.G.L. in April. "Avanti" the official organ of the Socialist Party also demanded neutrality.

As the pressure for war grew stronger, the more moderate leaders of the Socialist Party resigned and together with the nationalist, republican and masonic factions formed the "interventionist group." De Ambris, Mussolini, Orano, Labriola, Bonomi and Bissolati were of this faction.

When war was declared against Austria, the Socialist Party, the C.G.L., Socialist municipalities, cooperative societies and others assumed an attitude of neutrality towards the prosecution of the war and spent their efforts on the protection of workers. The Socialist Parliamentary group, including about forty deputies\* protested against the increase of hours under pretext of war orders, the withdrawal of credits to small enterprises, repressive measures directed at labor organizations, and against the censorship which was chiefly aimed at the Socialist and labor press. The Socialist Parliamentary group urged enforcement of the laws protecting women and children, the resumption of public works, the establishment of an employment service through the agency of the *Camore del Lavoro*, state control of the distribution of grain, elimination of middlemen and an inventory of crops. A very considerable effort was made by the Socialists at Milan and elsewhere to relieve the distress of the wives and children of soldiers.

Agitation against the war did not cease. In September, 1915 the radical Socialists led by Lazzari joined with German and French minority Socialists in the conference at Zimmerwald which stated

\* Seventy is usually given as the number of Socialist deputies. This figure included the 20 Reform Socialists and 10 Independent Socialists, as well as those recognized by the Socialist Party proper.

the program of international Socialist opposition to the war. During the late fall the Italian Syndicalist Union, which maintained an extreme revolutionary attitude, expelled certain sections because of their pro-war sympathies. "Avanti" proposed as a basis for peace a program of no annexations and no indemnities, the self-determination of nations and arbitration of international disputes. The right wing of the Socialist Party, on the other hand, led by Turati the Parliamentary leader, sought to prevent the isolation of the working-classes and urged recognition of the fact that disarmament could only come through international action.

Socialists who had joined the Italian Socialist Union in 1915, together with the Reform Socialists, continued to support the war.

The summer of 1917 saw increasing unrest. Representatives of the Russian soviets visited Italy and conferred with all groups from Bissolati to the most revolutionary of the syndicalists. Lazzari issued a circular calling on all Socialist mayors to resign as a protest against the war. Serious bread riots occurred first in Milan and later in Turin. These were suppressed by troops with the loss of forty lives. The separation between pro-war and anti-war groups grew more bitter.

The Italian disaster in October put an end to party strife for a time. All parties except the Socialists, who were blamed for the defeat, joined in the "Union Sacree" to save Italy. Bissolati of the Reformed Socialists entered the new ministry. The government adopted a more stringent policy towards pacifists.

Lazzari was convicted of Defeatism in February, 1918, and sentenced to two years imprisonment. He has since been released by general amnesty. Serrati, the editor of "Avanti," was convicted of inciting riot at Turin in August, 1917.

In 1918 an attempt was made by the moderate wing of the Socialist Party to convert the extreme wing to opportunism in order to maintain unity among the working-classes. Turati tried to swing the Socialist Party towards a ministerial alliance with the government, but was openly opposed by the extremists.

Foreseeing the end of the war, the government organized committees on reconstruction problems, appointing to them many leaders of the Socialist Party. Notwithstanding the advocacy of Turati, "Avanti" and the whole Socialist press fought against representation of the Party on these committees. Conventions of the C.G.L. and the Socialist Party confirmed this stand and the men who had been appointed resigned.

The Italian Socialist Union, which had come to include practically all pro-war Socialists during 1918, turned its attention to industrial and land reforms, and advocacy of a League of Nations.



Led by this example, Socialist and labor organizations began to make their peace proposals more definite. The Italian section of the International Association on Unemployment, meeting during July, approved the plan for labor representation at the Peace Conference and the inclusion of international minimum labor standards in the peace treaty. The Socialist Parliamentary group declared for self-determination of nationalities, a League of Nations, free trade, disarmament and the recognition of the rights of labor.

### III. STRUCTURE OF LABOR AND SOCIALIST GROUPS

#### A. *Workers' Organizations*

Italy has several country-wide labor organizations which in structure closely parallel one another, although differing widely in size and in aim.

##### 1. C.G.L.

This, with its affiliations, makes up the largest of the labor groups. Standing at the center of the labor structure, it is founded upon the Syndicate or union of members of the same trade or industry in a given locality. These Syndicats, as in France, are organized in a National Federation of all the Syndicats of a given trade or industry, and in a local club or Bourse called Camora del Lavoro made up of all the Syndicats of a given locality irrespective of the nature of their trade. These Camore are themselves united into a National Federation which, consolidated with the National Federations of Industrial Syndicats, forms the C.G.L.

The syndicats serve the economic interests of the workers. They are the fighting units of the organization. Each syndicat enjoys a limited measure of autonomy, subject to the supervision of the C.G.L., in all matters touching working conditions or politics. The Camore del Lavoro serve the purpose of clubs, provide a meeting place, an educational center, and an employment bureau.

The C.G.L., unlike the French C.G.T., is a highly centralized body with far-reaching power over its local units. It is administered by a central committee and meets in annual congresses made up of delegates from each of the respective Federations. In politics it represents the moderate reformist labor element.

In 1914 the paid membership of the C.G.L. was 320,858, of which 195,858 were industrial and 125,000 agricultural workers. In 1917 the membership had fallen to 237,560.

## **2. Italian Syndicalist Union**

The structure of this organization is patterned closely after that of the C.G.L. It has its local trade union and its local Bourse. Unlike the C.G.L., however, the central body is nothing more than a loose federation binding together practically autonomous local units. Power is not concentrated in the hands of the central committee as in the case of the C.G.L. In this respect the Syndicalist Union has followed the model of the French C.G.T.

The organization represents the radical syndicalist element which is opposed to political activity and favors direct action, the general strike, and revolution in the interest of the working-classes.

In 1913 the membership of the organization was 101,729. In 1918 its leaders claimed 137,000 members.

## **3. Italian Labor Union**

This is a comparatively unimportant body founded in 1917 by the pro-war Socialists (headed by Alceste de Ambris) following their separation from the main body of Socialists. It functions as an economic adjunct to the new Pro-War Socialist party much as the C.G.L. functions for the old one. The party claim of a membership of 125,000 is probably an exaggeration.

## **4. Catholic Unions**

These are not important as a part of the labor movement. They have, however, an old tradition and are now heavily recruited from women.

## ***B. Socialist Organizations***

There are three distinct groups of socialist tendency, although only one, the Italian Socialist Party, is officially recognized by the Internationale. These parties are recruited from the intellectuals, professionals and bourgeoisie, quite as much as from the working-classes.

### **1. Italian Socialist Party**

The basis of the organization is the local federated into groups based respectively on the Commune, on the arrondissement, on the province and on the region. Delegates from the provincial and the regional groups form the National Congress which together with a Central Committee composed of five parliamentary deputies, the editor of the official paper *L'Avanti*, and five delegates chosen by the National Congress (11 in all) form the central organizations.

This is the extreme left socialist group, opposed to participation in the government. It has of course representation in the Chamber and participates in the administration of hundreds of local govern-

ments, municipal and provincial. Thus, the Milan government has been in the hands of the Socialists throughout the war.

Its voting strength at the last election was estimated by the party. at 961,703, approximately 19 per cent of the total votes cast. The proportion of Socialist deputies actually elected is "however" considerably less, approximately 40 out of a total of 508.

## **2. Reformist Socialist Party**

This is the party of the moderates who broke off from the official party at the time when Bissolati and other moderates were read out of it as unfaithful to the tenets of the class-struggle.

No figures are available as to its membership. It is represented in the Chamber by approximately 20 deputies.

## **3. Italian Socialist Union**

This is the party of the Pro-war Socialists formed in 1917, and identical in membership with the Italian Labor Union. It has lately merged with the party of Socialist Reform.

# **IV. ANALYSIS OF PRESENT SITUATION**

## **A. Attitude of Labor and Socialist Groups Towards the War**

The official Socialist Party and its economic counterpart, the C.G.L., have pursued a policy of strict neutrality throughout the duration of the war, in spite of continuous pressure from opposing forces. Divergent elements among them formed new groups which identified themselves with the government's war policies. To the Socialist Party and the C.G.L. the war has not been a vital issue. Official participation in it on their part has been limited to relief measures on behalf of the stricken proletariat. Only those aspects of the war which directly affected the working-classes have been taken note of. International issues which agitated labor groups of other countries have been almost ignored. This attitude has been maintained consistently, in spite of difficulties. The Socialist deputies who have been over-zealous in the National cause have been re-proved. The appeals of revolutionary syndicalists for cooperation have been refused except when their activities were directed against governmental or other interference with the working-class rights. A bitter fight has been waged against the censorship and against any movement of the government to interfere with local Socialist governments. The growth of militaristic tendencies and the gradual curtailment of constitutional rights have been vigorously resisted. The aim of the party has been to continue its struggle for industrial and

economic reform and to resist the war only when it interfered with these efforts. On international matters the Party's attitude is defined by the declarations of the Conference at Zimmerwald.

## **B. Strength of the Labor Movement**

Some idea of the strength of the labor movement may be gained by a study of the census. In 1911 the population of Italy was 34,813,957, of whom 26,580,048 were adults. The agricultural population numbered 9,085,597, the industrials 4,945,994, while the balance was taken up largely by the commercial elements, the clergy, the professions and the government. Eleven per cent of the total population held landed property.

Of the industrial population, only half are actually connected with industrial establishments, and of these half a million properly belong in the employer class. This leaves an industrial working population of 1,814,421. Of these 1,220,459 are males. 473,292 of the male industrial population are organized in labor groups, and of these 70,000 belong to Catholic and similar independent unions. The C.G.L. claimed in 1914 a paid-up membership of 195,858 industrial workers. This number has fallen off considerably during the war.

The number of agricultural workers is difficult to gauge because of the difficulty of distinguishing between the agricultural laborer and the small proprietor. Organization among agriculturalists totalled more than 600,000 in 1911, of whom some 200,000 belonged to Catholic and independent unions. The C.G.L. in 1914 claimed a paid-up membership of 125,000, which by 1917 had dropped to 87,000.

On the basis of these figures the Italian proletariat consists of: roughly, between a fifth and a quarter of the active population, the larger figure holding true where small land-owners and industrial employers are included. Of this total about 900,000 are organized.

In short, less than a twelfth of the proletariat is revolutionary or susceptible to revolutionary leadership. A large proportion of the working population is organized and might be capable of joining a general movement of resistance. These figures do not take account of the floating labor element (amounting to almost 700,000) which often cooperates in organized rebellion.

## **C. Effect of War on Labor Movement**

Statistics on the present labor situation in Italy are not available, but an indication of general tendencies may be gathered from recent labor conditions in Milan. In the area investigated 38,000 new employees had been taken on since the war, including an increase of women amounting to 16,000. The balance, 22,000, was probably collected from the outlying agricultural districts which have lately



suffered severely from the labor shortage. It is expected that the increase indicated by these figures is not likely to be greatly reduced even after the war, except for about 75% of the women who will be forced to return to their former occupations.

The workers are looking forward to an era of intensified industrialization. Revolutionary labor unions are conducting an educational campaign and developing as their slogan the cry for increased efficiency in production, together with shorter working hours and higher wage will lead to increased consumption and a consequent higher standard of living. This is the present outlook of labor.

Agricultural labor is following a similar line of thought. The formula "land to the peasants" is now, however, palatable in revolutionary circles, and the cry of "land to the unions of peasants" is being substituted instead by the cooperative societies.

## V. APPENDICES

### DOCUMENTS

#### (I) **Attitude of the Socialist Party and Labor Organizations of Italy to the War—1915<sup>1</sup>**

At the mass meetings held by the Socialist Party and labor organizations on Feb. 21, 1915, all over Italy the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the condition of the Italian workers is aggravated by unemployment and by the increase in the price of bread and food, due to the state of war in the greater part of Europe, and

"Whereas, the participation of Italy in the present conflict would increase the misery and suffering of the country,

"Be it resolved that labor undertake an active policy of economic defense, a policy which would relieve the increasing suffering of the proletariat, for which purpose the cooperation of all the political and administrative organs should be resorted to;

"That we emphasize the necessity for the Italian nation to maintain a state of peace towards all the other nations; and declare our absolute opposition to any act of war in which it is desired to draw in the Italian proletariat."

#### (II) **Resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party—1915<sup>2</sup>**

The Directorate of the Socialist Party at its meeting at Rome has yesterday (June 17, 1915) voted the following order of the day:

Whereas, the attitude of the Party up to the declaration of war was summed up in the manifesto of the Directorate and in the speech of Filippo Turati in the chamber, and both the manifesto and the speech had the unanimous approval of the Party; and

Whereas, the situation became greatly changed after the declaration of war, owing to the suppression of the freedom of the press and of meetings, the impossibility for economic organization to promote

<sup>1</sup>Source: L'Avanti, February 20th, 1915.

<sup>2</sup>Source: L'Avanti, June 18th, 1915.

propaganda and in defense of the interests of the working classes, the extreme difficulty of socialistic propaganda and activities against the aims of those who would like to profit from the moment by driving the workmen back from the position which they have gained, and owing to the unexpectedly greater needs of every family and the abnormality of political and social life for the Party and the proletariat; and

Whereas, the class struggle has not and does not cease but is kept up even in these exceptional times; and

Whereas, the Directorate is convinced that at all times, but especially during the period of the war, the activities of the Party must in a harmonious manner be developed through the specific functions of its organs; the directorate, the Parliamentary Group, the branches, and the journal; the directorate reminds the branches and comrades not to forget that up till now the Party has always and in perfect agreement asserted its will to base all its activities on class consciousness; and therefore

Be it resolved:

1. To continue the propaganda of the basic principles of our Party;

2. To coordinate the socialistic forces for combating the setting in of reaction;

3. To retain intact the political and economic organizations and to watch over their maintenance and development.

4. To defend the immediate interests of those workers that have been conscripted;

5. To demand that the burdens of the present situation be chiefly borne by the well-to-do classes and that relief work be carried out not as an inadequate charitable activity of individual independent committees but in the form of obligatory State aid.

Based on these resolutions the directorate requires all branches to establish in every locality aid, advisory, and defensive committees of the economic organizations; to maintain contact with the workers and their families in greater measure than in the past; to defend in the most suitable manner the principles of socialism; and to combat the inane dissemination of race and national hatred.

In taking part in aid committees the Italian socialists should be governed by the following rules:

(a) Where they form a majority they should establish committees for the relief of war victims and see to it that they function properly in providing food supplies, requisitioning grain, reducing rents, preventing profiteering, establishing employment offices, taking more effective measures for the care of widows and orphans, etc., but in

performing this work should not renounce any of the principles of the party and merely demonstrate the solidarity of humanity.

(b) In non-socialistic communes where the minority and the socialistic branches are being called upon to take part in aid committees, our comrades may accept such participation provided that their respective branches give their consent and that they decline all responsibility for any possible acts of the committees that may run counter to the political creed of the Party.

(c) Where the socialists do not form the majority on aid committees the branches shall exercise the duties of a supervisory committee in order to protect the interests of the workers in the aid committees and against the public authorities.

The directorate rests assured that the branches and comrades will conscientiously maintain such discipline and solidarity as will permit the party later on, when the present bloody and tragic episode is closed, to face with strength and a solid front those new situations which the war will have created.

### **(III) Manifesto of the Socialist Parliamentary Group—1918** (In part suppressed by Censor)

Wilson has said that "War has been made by the governments, never will be made by the peoples" . . . The interests will suggest to the victorious entente the most excessive pretensions . . . Workingmen forming the only class free of guilt for this war, are interested in seeing a speedy and just peace.

While we expect true justice in international relations only through Socialism we declare that the principles laid down by President Wilson contain the foundation for the solution of the war. They converge in many points upon principles of interest to the international proletariat, such as the abolition of secret diplomacy, international conventions for the limitation of armaments, freedom of commerce and of navigation, and a league of nations.

The Socialist proletariat while disclaiming all responsibility as to the conditions of future peace on the lines laid down by President Wilson, urges parties and governments to test the sincerity of the great promises of the allied governments particularly because, once those principles of order are accepted and general security in the international life of nations is assured, territorial claims and strategical problems, to which for centuries torrents of blood have been sacrificed, lose all their importance.

Workers, you must unite all your forces to oppose all imperialistic attempts.

#### (IV) Resolution Submitted to the Chamber of Deputies by the Socialist Parliamentary Group—1918<sup>1</sup>

The Chamber considering that:

The unprecedented ruin of over four years of world war costing humanity many millions of lives and hundreds of billions of expenses and debts which will weigh heavily on the life and labor of generations, will not be repaired if any effort be spared in order that the peace which is to close the horrible tragedy be a peace truly human and based on the unshakable foundation of the solidarity of peoples,

Declares that from the peace negotiations and their conclusions all ideas of conquest, of oppression, of reprisal, of imperialism no matter how disguised, any possible reason or pretext for future "Revanchi" must be kept away by everyone and every party.

To this end the Chamber declares that the right of self-determination must be supplemented by the largest possible association of peoples and states—including belligerents and neutrals in agreement with the law of economic evolution, which leads not to isolation and the rivalry of national groups, but to a natural and rational distribution of groups in a single world wide field of production, and that therefore customs barriers should be done away with, universal disarmament agreed upon, and a solution of all international disputes arrived at through arbitration. Arrangements should be made so that colonies, instead of being an object of exploitation and competition between peoples, be treated in such a way that the interests of their inhabitants may be respected and they be gradually raised to civilization and political independence.

Considering the urgent tasks of reconstruction, material, economic and moral, which must cancel from the continents all consequences of hate, cupidity, devastation, and slaughter, the Chamber declares that the new international society must rest on the recognition and exaltation of the rights of labor—the only force of reconstruction, the only hope and safeguard of reborn humanity.

Labor in all countries without distinction of race, nationality, religion or political constitution, must be assured equal guarantees of security and well being in all fields of production and exchange. Freedom of emigration and immigration must be recognized and protected, with a parity of rights as between native born and immigrant through agreements and under the control of the proletarian organizations of the interested countries.

Social insurance of workers (old age, invalidity, sickness, accidents, and unemployment) must be established everywhere. In all countries workers of both sexes must be made politically and economically the

<sup>1</sup> Source: *Critica Sociale*, No. 21, 1918, p. 247.



masters of their destinies and of the general emancipation of man.

Considering all this the Chamber requests the government:

To abolish all restrictions on public liberties (censorship, exceptional police laws, extraordinary tribunals, etc.) and to grant a general political amnesty to all political victims of the war.

To see that coincident with the peace negotiations the right of the working classes of all countries—belligerents and neutrals alike—to voice in national and international meetings their interests and aspirations, be restored, so that the peace of the governments may become a “peace of peoples” and be the beginning and guaranty of a new historical era based on the political equality of citizens and on the solidarity of all peoples irrespective of boundaries.

## **V. Post Bellum Reconstruction Program of the Socialist Party—1918<sup>1</sup>**

### **(Le rivendicazioni immediate del Partito Socialista)**

Last year the executive committee of the Socialist Party, the Parliamentary group, and the C.G.L. submitted to the proletariat a manifesto and a program dealing with post-bellum problems. To those comrades who justify any form of collaboration by their desire for action and for work, we want to say that this program outlines enough activities to occupy all the energy of the Party and of the labor organizations. It is now merely a question of going to work resolutely and with a sense of responsibility. To do so does not require an appointment by vice-regal decree.

The unpreventable approach of peace after the long period of cruel strife which during the last three years has forsworn civilization and signified the condemnation of the governments that have started it; the anxious and tormenting preoccupation with the formidable hour when all responsibility shall be brought out before the tribunal of history; the inevitability of a period of laborious readjustment of social life after long and cruel devastation and the indistinct provision of possible new social and political events that is in the air; the feeling which is growing even outside the small circle of our party that it is necessary that the terrible experience should produce a firm will to prevent in the future a return of such a scourge and that therefore national and international efficacious guarantees to such an end must be constituted; the recent great event of the Russian revolution with its anti-annexation program in direct and declared contrast to all imperialism—all these facts make it advisable for the Socialist party in general and the Italian Socialist Party in particular, that even in these distressing times they should remain loyal to the great principles

<sup>1</sup>Source: L'Avanti, Aug. 12th, 1918, p. 1.

of the class struggle and of the international solidarity of the proletariats, and reannounce and emphasize in their immediate programs such reconstruction plans as have a character of immediate urgency with respect to the approaching peace as well as with respect to the reconstruction work after the war.

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In view of the approach of peace the Italian Socialist Party can but point out once more its constant fundamental principles with respect to international politics, principles that have been reaffirmed vigorously in the midst of the war and notwithstanding it at the memorable conference at Zimmerwald.

Therefore the party proclaims the necessity of a peace not only without forceful annexations but a peace that respects all autonomous governments, entrusts to the free will of the people the choice and manner of their respective grouping, and which through internationalization of the straits and of those territories about which there is great dispute, owing to the confluence in them of several nationalities, and through establishment of absolute freedom of the seas, removes the immediate causes of future conflicts.

Moreover the party points out how the existence of various forms of militarism, and of protective tariffs and the absence of any stable organization of the relations between nations, in addition to impoverishing the great masses to the advantage of the privileged classes and of artificial and ruinous parasitism, contribute greatly to breaches between nations, aggravate disputes and prevent their reasonable adjustment, and therefore proposes:

- (a) Immediate and simultaneous demobilization in all countries;
  - (b) Removal of all protective tariffs; and
  - (c) The establishment of legal confederal relations between all civilized nations.
- 

But these objectives, without which a real, durable and just peace cannot be conceived, would not be attainable or, if formally attained, would soon be subverted and frustrated—if the proletariat of each nation—the only class really and profoundly interested in the removal of all causes for armed conflicts between nations—should lack the power, the capacity and the earnest will to give them effectiveness and to enforce them.

Within the sphere of internal politics of each state—in expectancy of and in preparation for a complete economic emancipation of the working classes, which is being confounded with the abolition of all class government, i.e., the integral realization of the socialistic ideals—there is urgent need of a series of institutional, political, administra-

tive and economic reforms which shall be outlined here in the following demands:

1. A form of government based on the sovereignty of the people and made effective by giving the elected Chamber of Representatives the right to convoke itself and to regulate alone its own work. Abolition of the Senate. Universal, equal and direct suffrage of all citizens. Extensive scrutiny of votes and proportional representation. The people to be given the right of initiative, referendum and veto. Unlimited freedom of coalition, organization, strike, and propaganda. Abolition of the secret police.

2. The foreign policy shall no longer be in charge of the executive power but shall be exclusively entrusted to the deliberation of the Parliaments. This will automatically abolish diplomatic intrigues, capture of parliamentary votes through the illegitimate action of accomplished facts, the possibility and validity of secret agreements and treaties between Governments; and publicity shall restore elementary probity in foreign relations. It will also remove any possibility that the so-called political press, which today is subservient to large industrial and economic parasitic interests can pervert public opinion and the sentiment of the masses with all kinds of contentious nonsense.

3. Development of autonomous communal and district government, regional decentralization of the administrative functions and control which today hinder and deprave parliamentary action. Reform of the bureaucracy which for its own ends has become a State within the State, and which must be reorganized so as to become an easily handled executive and productive instrument. Extension of the elective principle to all higher offices, with personal and direct responsibility of the office holders. Simplified organization of the executive authorities after the pattern of industrial organizations. Free dispensation of justice and elective judiciary.

4. A labor policy aiming at the full employment of the latent forces and riches of the country. Prompt remedial action for the misery and devastation caused by the war. Organization without any coercion of that migration of the masses which is caused by distress. Improvements, nationalization and wise utilization of the water power and of the mineral resources of the country, their exploitation to be preferably entrusted to the local public authorities. Agricultural and industrial reform by means of obligatory cooperative societies with the cooperation of the State, the entrepreneurs and the interested local authorities and by entrusting the work to workmen's associations.

5. A policy aiming at the protection of consumers, coordinated



as much as possible to the policy of production and tending to stabilize and develop with a new spirit and for far more largely social ends those institutions which have been created in haste and temporarily as war measures to prevent private speculation.

6. Effective acknowledgment of the right of all workers to a decent and human existence. Consequent establishment of a general insurance system (unemployment, sickness, accident and old-age) transformation of charity into assistance and social providence; intense diffusion of public and trade schools with obligatory attendance up to 18 years of age, and of all supplementary education; facilities to industrial and agricultural cooperative undertakings; more intensive factory inspection; enactment of legislation on the individual and collective labor contract; also regulation of the hours of labor for adult male workers and a legal maximum 8 hour day; enactment of legal minimum wage rates corresponding to the fundamental minimum needs of existence; equalization of female and male wages for equal work; extensive acknowledgment of the right of proletarian organizations to act and intervene in all matters relating to the protection of labor and to the labor contract.

7. The agrarian problem shall be solved on the following principles:

The land. Initiation of all the socialization of the land through the formation of a vast collective domain, the first nucleus of which could be formed with the public land, the land of religious foundations and all uncultivated or badly cultivated land.

Agriculture and agricultural production. The land shall be given to, or left in the possession of those who directly cultivate it. Association of obligatory cultivators. Regulation and technical direction of production with the aim of achieving the largest possible production at lowest cost.

8. A system of taxation essentially based on direct and progressive taxes with integral and correct assessment. Reduction of the rate of interest on the public debt, with indemnification of legal persons. Extension of the State monopolies, either through industrial exploitation in the collective interests, or by means of control of the large transportation, communication and supply services. Energetic taxation of inheritances and limitation of the classes of legal heirs. A national compulsory loan for the production of peace activities in the same amount as has been floated for the destructive activities of war.

The enactment of these measures with such modifications and supplements as the particular conditions of each nation may suggest can only be realized through the conscientious efforts of the various proletariats within the limits of each state; but it will be facilitated

and promoted by the international unity of the working classes.

For this reason the Italian Socialist party has proposed for itself as its principal aim, the immediate and effective restoration of the workmen's International and its reorganization, in so effective a manner that delusions which characterized the last period of its existence cannot reoccur so that it may constitute the most decisive factor in shaping international relations and in forming and directing the new history of the World.

The Directorate of the Italian Socialist Party.

The Parliamentary Socialist Group.

The General Federation of Labor (C.G.L.).

## **VI. Program of the Italian Syndicalist Union (October, 1918)<sup>1</sup>**

The Council of the I.S.U., in discussing the attitude which it will adopt in the future workingmens' International Conventions (Assisi Internazionali operaie), says that it intends to discard every order of ideas of democratic utopianism, which merely consist in the academic consecration of principles, which are only operative under the direction of a capitalist state regime.

The International Convention must recognize that:

Such problems as disarmament, compulsory arbitration, public diplomacy, etc., can never be solved during this period of imperialistic wars and diplomacy, by a bourgeoisie which failed to do so during its historical revolutionary period.

The principle of nationalism, as formulated by the State, must be regarded as a mere derivative conceived by the reactionary party, to oppose the revolutionary spirit, and simply an expression of the historical rights of the State.

The International Convention must regard any and every war, however justified by the State, and whatever its results, as a purely State matter, and one in which the State must assume the whole responsibility.

The International Convention will, consequently, condemn every alliance of the Proletariat with States, even under the pretext of obtaining the independence of an oppressed people, as a case of defection and betrayal of the Revolutionary cause.

On the contrary and as a logical consequence, it will proclaim its whole sympathy with every insurrection of the people aiming at the emancipation from oppression and counter-revolution of any territory, provided it be done in the name of the economic and political redemption of the working classes, and not with the ambition of constituting a state or of increasing its power.

<sup>1</sup> Source: Guerra di Classe, October 19, 1918.

In consequence of the above considerations, the General Council of the I.S.U. has formulated the following conclusions:

(a) The working classes will not assume any responsibility in the future peace.

(b) They will condemn all political and syndical collaboration with States, regardless of the blandishments and hypocrisies of States of a democratic order.

(c) The autonomy of the working classes as distinct from that of the bourgeoisie and the State representing it, must be more and more affirmed.

(d) In dealing with statal policies, the whole initiative of the course to be pursued will be left to the working classes.

(e) The fallacies of legalistic compromise will be abandoned in dealing with questions not requiring war in order to demonstrate the power of action exercised by the organized proletariat class.

(f) (Deleted by censor.)

(g) The International Convention will seek to effect the fraternization, regardless of all misunderstandings and of private interests, and at whatsoever material cost, of the working classes of the world, repudiating all charities from the State in the internal policies of the proletariat and all contentions between the organized masses of different nations.

(h) It will pardon proletariats all their errors and weaknesses towards their evil advisers; it will forgive nothing to the statal directors and politicians which have served them.

## B. TABULAR MATTER

### (I) Votes Polled by Parties at the Last Election<sup>1</sup>

26 October–2 November, 1913

|  |                 |              |
|--|-----------------|--------------|
| Liberals.....                                | 2,387,947       | 47.6%        |
| Democratic Constitutionals.....              | 277,251         | 5.5%         |
| Democrats.....                               | 138,967         | 2.8%         |
| Catholic Conservatives.....                  | 89,630          | 1.8%         |
| Catholics.....                               | 212,319         | 4.2%         |
| Radicals.....                                | 588,193         | 11.7%        |
| Republicans.....                             | 173,666         | 3.5%         |
| Official Socialists.....                     | 883,409         | 17.7%        |
| Reform Socialists.....                       | 196,406         | 3.9%         |
| Independent Socialists and Syndicalists..... | 67,133          | 1.3%         |
|  | <hr/> 5,014,921 | <hr/> 100. % |
| Entitled to Vote.....                        | 8,672,921       | 24.2%        |

<sup>1</sup>Source: *La Riforma Sociale*, 1914, vol. 25, pp. 432 and 441. of population

**(II) Italian Socialist Elections to Parliament, 1892-1913<sup>1</sup>**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Votes</i> | <i>Candidates Elected</i> |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1892.....   | 26,000       | 6                         |
| 1895.....   | 76,000       | 10                        |
| 1897.....   | 135,000      | 15                        |
| 1900.....   | 175,000      | 32                        |
| 1904.....   | 325,960      | 30                        |
| 1909.....   | 341,387      | 41                        |
| 1913.....   | 961,703      | 53                        |

**(III) Italian Socialist Deputies in Parliament in 1913<sup>2</sup>**

|                        |    |
|------------------------|----|
| Lawyers.....           | 17 |
| Professors.....        | 7  |
| Doctors.....           | 8  |
| Doctor in Law.....     | 1  |
| Engineer.....          | 1  |
| Salesman.....          | 1  |
| Newspaperman.....      | 1  |
| Organizer.....         | 1  |
| Public Accountant..... | 1  |
| Mason.....             | 1  |
| Carpenter.....         | 1  |
| Total.....             | 40 |

**(IV) Membership of Socialist Party, 1896-1914<sup>3</sup>**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>(From Party Register)</i><br><i>Locals</i> | <i>Members</i> |
|-------------|---|----------------|
| 1896.....   | 442.....                                      | 19,121         |
| 1897.....   | 623.....                                      | 27,281         |
| 1898.....   | 860.....                                      |                |
| 1899.....   | 552.....                                      |                |
| 1900.....   | 546.....                                      | 19,194         |
| 1901.....   | 1,186.....                                    | 47,098         |
| 1902.....   | 1,070.....                                    | 37,778         |
| 1903.....   | 1,236.....                                    | 42,451         |
| 1904.....   | 1,330.....                                    | 45,800         |
| 1905.....   | 1,258.....                                    | 43,905         |
| 1906.....   | 1,279.....                                    | 43,654         |
| 1907.....   | 1,340.....                                    | 43,953         |
| 1908.....   | 1,222.....                                    | 43,788         |
| 1909.....   | 989.....                                      | 28,835         |
| 1910.....   | 1,125.....                                    | 31,960         |
| 1911.....   | 1,092.....                                    | 30,220         |
| 1912.....   | 1,114.....                                    | 30,233         |
| 1913.....   | 1,357.....                                    | 37,151         |
| 1914.....   | 1,839.....                                    | 58,330         |

<sup>1</sup> Source: *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, vol. 35, p. 360, 1914.<sup>2</sup> Source: *Almanac of Italian Socialist Party*, 1918.<sup>3</sup> Source: *L'Avanti*, January 2, 1915.

**(V) C.G.L. Membership, 1913-1917<sup>1</sup>**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Industrial Workers</i> | <i>Agricultural Workers</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 1913        | 169,840                   | 157,472                     | 327,312      |
| 1914        | 195,858                   | 125,000                     | 320,858      |
| 1915        | 142,533                   | 91,330                      | 233,863      |
| 1916        | 119,051                   | 82,240                      | 201,291      |
| 1917        | 150,229                   | 87,331                      | 237,560      |

**(VI) Italian Syndicalist Union Membership, by Industries, 1913<sup>2</sup>**

| <i>Industry</i>                        | <i>Unions</i> | <i>Members</i> |
|--|---------------|----------------|
| Transport and Public Services.....     | 36            | 8,820          |
| Wood-workers ("Ouvriers du bois")..... | 222           | 26,928         |
| Food Industries ("Alimentation").....  | 18            | 943            |
| Clothing Industries.....               | 25            | 2,702          |
| Metal Industries.....                  | 29            | 14,243         |
| Agricultural Workers.....              | 649           | 28,553         |
| Miscellaneous.....                     | 74            | 5,835          |
| Totals.....                            | 1,003         | 98,037         |

**(VII) Strikes in Industry and Agriculture<sup>3</sup>**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>STRIKES IN INDUSTRY</i> |                           | <i>STRIKES IN AGRICULTURE</i> |                           |
|-------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
|             | <i>Number</i>              | <i>Number of Strikers</i> | <i>Number</i>                 | <i>Number of Strikers</i> |
| 1891        | 132                        | 34,733                    | 24                            | 7,795                     |
| 1892        | 119                        | 30,800                    | 10                            | 3,504                     |
| 1893        | 131                        | 32,109                    | 18                            | 12,390                    |
| 1894        | 109                        | 27,595                    | 8                             | 4,748                     |
| 1895        | 126                        | 19,307                    | 7                             | 1,765                     |
| 1896        | 210                        | 96,051                    | 1                             | 100                       |
| 1897        | 217                        | 76,570                    | 12                            | 24,135                    |
| 1898        | 256                        | 35,705                    | 36                            | 8,495                     |
| 1899        | 259                        | 43,194                    | 9                             | 1,895                     |
| 1900        | 383                        | 80,858                    | 27                            | 12,517                    |
| 1901        | 1,042                      | 196,540                   | 629                           | 222,985                   |
| 1902        | 810                        | 197,514                   | 221                           | 146,592                   |
| 1903        | 549                        | 109,327                   | 47                            | 22,507                    |
| 1904        | 631                        | 124,834                   | 208                           | 94,756                    |
| 1905        | 628                        | 110,832                   | 87                            | 43,695                    |
| 1906        | 1,299                      | 264,029                   | 350                           | 117,595                   |
| 1907        | 1,881                      | 321,499                   | 377                           | 254,131                   |
| 1908        | 1,459                      | 197,958                   | 286                           | 173,425                   |
| 1909        | 930                        | 140,452                   | 132                           | 46,569                    |
| 1910        | 1,021                      | 172,969                   | 97                            | 25,805                    |
| 1911        | 1,107                      | 252,853                   | 148                           | 132,738                   |
| 1912        | 914                        | 144,124                   | 176                           | 95,841                    |
| 1913        | 810                        | 384,725                   | 97                            | 79,842                    |
| 1914        | 782                        | 173,103                   | 123                           | 43,819                    |
| 1915*       | 530                        | 126,725                   | 69                            | 46,805                    |

<sup>1</sup> Source: Official Bulletin of C. G. L., April 16, 1918, p. 845-852.<sup>2</sup> Source: Le Mouvement Socialiste, vol. 35, p. 92.<sup>3</sup> Source: Italian Statistical Annual, 1915, p. 392.

\* Statistics for 1915 are incomplete.



## (VIII) Proportion of Industrial Workers to Total Population —1911

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Number of Industrial Establishments.....    | 243,926    |
| Number of Workers:                          |            |
| Total.....                                  | 1,814,421  |
| Men.....                                    | 1,220,459  |
| Percent of total.....                       | 74.9%      |
| Population in 1911.....                     | 34,671,000 |
| Percent of workers to total population..... | 69.59%     |

### C. BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADERS IN THE MOVEMENTS

*Filippo Turati* is one of the veterans of the Italian Socialist Party. He is a sarcastic speaker and very keen and resourceful in debate. For over twenty years he has been editor of the *Critica Sociale*, a periodical devoted to the principal political and economic problems of Italy. For many years he has been in parliament, where he is considered among its ablest members. In the Socialist Party he exercises a moderating and conciliating influence. He is very cautious in his decisions. Frequently he did not fear to incur by his opportunistic attitude the discontent of the masses and the bitter criticism of his comrades in the party. Because of his membership on the Government Reconstruction Committee, some Socialist branches have recently demanded his expulsion from the party but without success. Turati has always been opposed to war as a general principle, but he did not fail on various occasions to show a trend of thought favorable to the aspirations of Italy and of the Allies. He is an admirer of President Wilson's policy and a bitter enemy of the extreme Italian nationalists.

*Costantino Lazzari* is one of the veteran leaders of the Italian Socialist Party. He is one of the most conspicuous figures in all the Socialist and labor movements in Lombardy. He has taken part in many battles on the side of the proletariat and has never wavered for an instant in his strenuous opposition to the bourgeois classes and the Italian government. He has preserved the ideas of the old internationalists. In the struggle between the reformist and revolutionary wings of the party, he was and still is the most violent opponent of Turati and of his political faction. He is now secretary of the Socialist Party. Energetic opponent of the War in 1918, he sent a circular to all the Socialist mayors asking them to boycott the government if it refused to announce its war aims. For this he was arrested and sentenced. Subsequently he was released by royal amnesty with other

political prisoners. He is a good speaker and exercises a strong influence on the working classes.

*Menotti Serrati* represents in the Italian Socialist Party the revolutionary majority decidedly opposed to the war and to any cooperation with the Italian government. Serrati is the editor of the *Avanti*. He lived for several years in the U. S., editing the paper "*Il Proletario*," organ of the Italian Socialists in America. He is a brilliant speaker and an able debater. He never compromises his ideas. He never conceals in the face of any peril either his thoughts or his words. During the trial at Turin in 1918, when he was accused of sedition, he declared in the presence of the judges that his aim as a Socialist was the transformation of the present political and economic system of Italy. He is a very sincere man and is very well liked by the workers. He is a contributor to the *Avanti* and in his articles he attacks the "collaborationist" tendencies of some members of the Italian Socialist Party. He is against a league of nations, which he considers a modern subterfuge to take the place of the balance of powers and a menace to the workers' International. At present he is in prison serving the sentence imposed by the judges of Turin.

*Rinaldo Rigola*, before he became completely blind about 16 years ago, was a cabinet maker and an organizer of his trade. From that time on, he has been constantly elected deputy and has also been at the same time secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, and editor of its official organ; both these offices he held until the end of 1918. Rigola is an expert on labor questions and a man of moderate tendencies. He is in favor of working in agreement with the Socialist Party, which he considers the only organization capable of bringing any benefit to the working classes. In 1914 he was in favor of a general strike in protest against the events of the "Red Week" at Ancona. In 1918, like Turati, he was in favor of Socialist participation in the reconstruction committee. Because of the opposing vote of the organizations, he saw that he could no longer keep his position of secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, and so in spite of the confidence vote of the General Council of the General Confederation of Labor, he resigned, leaving his place to Ludovico d'Aragona.

*Armando Borghi* is the general secretary of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*. He is a man of strict principles and very active. He has an extensive knowledge of labor problems in Italy, France and Switzerland; he spent much time in the latter country because of political persecutions. He is a convincing debator and writes sufficiently well. He was always opposed to the war and to any compromise with the government and the bourgeois classes. He is against political action by the proletarian classes and for this purpose he favors a combina-

tion of all the organized forces of the General Confederation of Labor and of the U. S. It. Because of his attitude to the war he was recently interned by the government at Isernia, a small place in southern Italy.

*Professor Enrico Leone* was born in Naples of a poor family. He is a graduate of the law school in the university of that city. In his early youth he became active in the Italian Socialist Party. Between 1898 and 1902 he contributed to a periodical *Propaganda* which was agitating for the moral purification of the city of Naples. From 1902 until 1904 he was chief editor of the *Avanti*, which was at that time under the editorship of Enrico Ferri. In 1905 he established the first syndicalist review in Italy, *Il Divenire Sociale* which he has been conducting for five years. Both in Italy and abroad Leone is regarded as a theoretical exponent of Syndicalism. He possesses a keen analytical mind. He is author of many valuable works on political economy. His writings in *Guerra di Classe*, the official organ of the Unione Sindicale Italiana, in the *Avanti*, and in the *Critica Sociale* (Turati's organ) were considered as the best products of Syndicalist literature. At present he is teaching political economy at the University of Bologna.

*Enrico Malatesta* comes from a noble family in the south of Italy. In his younger years he studied medicine in Naples, but because of his ideas he left the university without completing the course and began to lead the life of an agitator and plotter in all the European countries. He was one of the most ardent supporters of the theories of Bakunin and together with them he organized branches of the International in Italy. He was constantly persecuted by the police of all the European countries and was banished from many of them, not excluding Italy, which saw in him and sees now a formidable enemy and a most able leader. All his life is full of the sacrifices which he made to his love of the ideal of peace and equality. In 1914 after intensive agitation by the workers, he was able to return from London to Italy, where he started an energetic propaganda in almost every part of the country. In Ancona he established a paper, *Volanta*. He declared himself on the side of and began to work for the Unione Sindacale Italiana. He is a syndicalist anarchist, like Yvetot, Monatte, and Pouget in France. After the revolt in Romagna in June, 1914, he had to leave Italy and went to London, where he now works as a mechanic. Peter Kropotkin was for years a strong admirer of Malatesta, whom he called the sublime idealist "always ready to sacrifice himself for others, always returning to the fight with the same love of men, without any hate towards his opponents and persecutors, with the same cordial smile for a friend and the same caress for a child."



*Leonida Bissolati* was born in 1857 in Cremona (Northern Italy). He studied law at the University, then, influenced by Mazzinian and later by Marxian doctrine, plunged into Socialistic journalism. An Agricultural Laborer's Union founded by him at Cremona was later dissolved (in 1894) by Minister Crispi. Bissolati at about the same time founded a paper called *Lotta di Classe* (Class War), and the afterward famous official Socialist organ, *L'Avanti*. In 1895 he was elected deputy to the Italian Chamber, where he remained a member of the Extreme Socialist Left, until the beginning of the century. Gradually growing more moderate in his views, he was in 1909 returned as deputy from one of the Roman constituencies, a non-Socialist stronghold. And in 1911, Premier Giolitti offered him a seat in the ministry. Bissolati actually had an audience with the king in connection with the matter, a fact that roused the Socialist party to bitter hostility against him. Giolitti's offer was later withdrawn. In 1912 Bissolati was expelled from the Socialist Party, because he favored the Tripolitan war. He immediately organized with others of the expelled members a new Socialist Reformist party, of whose official organ, *Azione Socialista*, he became editor.

Following Italy's entrance into the war, which he strongly favored, Bissolati enlisted as a private in the army. He has since become Minister, and only resigned within the month in protest against Orlando's Adriatic claims at the peace conference.



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